

PART III.

TELETEGLYPHS, OR BORA TREES.

I regret to say the information at my disposal on this form of our dendroglyphs is meagre and unsatisfactory, as most of the published references are poor and indefinite.

As to the use of the term "Bora"—"the great national institution of the Australian Aborigines"¹⁴⁵ it is a Kamilaroi word derived from "bor" or "boor" signifying the belt of manhood. As by long usage it has been employed to express the initiation ceremonies as a whole in Eastern Australia, the term may well be so adopted here, in place of numerous and less-known names according to tribe, such as:—

Jeraeil of the Kurnai.

Kuringal of the Ngarego.

Bunon (with mound)

Kadja-wallung (without mound) } of the Coast Murring and Yuin.

Yoolahng of the Gweagal (Port Jackson).

Burbung or *Guringal* of the Wiradjuri.

„ of the Wonghi or Wonghibon.

Bora of the Kamilaroi.

Kabbarah of Port Macquarie (? Gringai).

Kipparah of the Wilson and Hastings Rivers.

Cawarra of the Macleay and Nambucca Rivers.

Bora of the Cheepara (South of Brisbane).

Northwards, ceremonies of the Bora type are probably replaced by others somewhere about the Condamine River.¹⁴⁶

Teleteglyphs are either anthropomorphous, zoomorphous, physical, geometric, or casual. Those of the two first-named groups are believed by many to be totemic.

"Each family amongst the Australians," remarked J. C. Pritchard, "adopts some animal or plant as the kind of badge or armorial emblem, or, as they call it, *kobong*. A certain mysterious connection exists between a

¹⁴⁵ Ridley—"Kamilaroi, and other Australian Languages," 1875, pp. 153, 156.

¹⁴⁶ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 595.

family and its kobong, so that a member of the family will not kill an animal or pluck any plant of the species to which his kobong belongs, except under particular circumstances";¹⁴⁷ in other words the family totem.

Pritchard possibly derived this word kobong from Grey, who remarked that a mysterious connection existed between a family and its kobong, so that a member of the former would never kill an animal of the species to which his kobong belonged.^{147a}

"A totem is commonly a class of natural objects, usually a species of animal or plant, with which a savage identifies himself in a curious way, imagining that he himself and his kinsfolk are for all practical purposes, kangaroos or emus, rats or bats, hawks or cockatoos, yams or grass seed, and so on, according to the particular class of natural objects which he claims as his totem. The origin of this remarkable identification of men with animals, plants, or other things is still much debated; my own view is that the key to the mystery is furnished by the Australian beliefs as to birth and re-birth."¹⁴⁸ In the main this is supported by the Rev. T. Mathew who wrote:—"Where totemism prevails . . . each individual in the tribe bears the name of an animal or plant which is his totem."¹⁴⁹

An anonymous writer in the *Australian Anthropological Journal*¹⁵⁰ said:—"Ko-bong is now in Australia the name for tribal Totem, the bird or beast from which the tribal and class-name is taken, and among the Indian Dravidian wild tribes its equivalent has the same significance."

The class-names are also commonly designated by those of "animals, especially eaglehawk and crow in the south-east; and emu, kangaroo, iguana, opossum, turtle, snake, native-bear, are common names elsewhere. In some parts the names of plants and various other objects are also employed as class-names."¹⁵¹

1. OBJECT OF THE TELETEGLYPHS.

The proceedings at a Bora are essentially the same everywhere in their general features and teaching, but the details vary among the various tribes.¹⁵² Two circular enclosures are formed and cleared, a larger and a

smaller, at variable distances apart, and with a track connecting them, usually straight (Pl. ii, fig. 1; Pl. v, fig. 1). The trees growing around one or other of the circles are carved or graven up to varying heights with various designs and zoomorphous figures.¹⁵³ The following curious old account is interesting:—"On some occasions they perform certain ceremonies which seem to be of an idolatrous nature. A European had an opportunity of witnessing the following. A whole tribe retired into an unfrequented place in the forest, where there was some open ground. Here they cut a path through the grass as though it had been finely mown, nearly two hundred yards long, following a line perfectly straight. At the further end of this, in an arena, were displayed (in like manner cut amidst the thick grass) figures, which, though rude in shape, were easily recognised, to be of the kangaroo, emu, opossum, and every other animal which they are accustomed to kill for food. Beyond this hieroglyphic table (if such it may be called) the path was continued forward to the foot of a large tree, in the stem of which notches were made like those by which they ascend to gather fruit. The evil spirit, they said, climbed up and down that tree. This labour being accomplished, the women were assembled under the boughs, but were not permitted to look up among them on pain of death. A man who represented the devil then came down from the top of the tree by the notches and walked off; whereupon the females retired, and the boys went through the same ceremony, but not till each had one of his front teeth knocked out. The girls did the same, but though, on such occasions, they are not condemned to lose a tooth, they are more barbarously mutilated by having the first joint of the forefinger of the left hand chopped off at a certain age."^{153a}

The ceremonies of the Bora, have for their object, according to Dr. A. W. Howitt, the "conferring upon the youths of the tribe the privileges, duties, and obligations of manhood. . . . At the same time that the youth is enrolled among the men he is removed from the maternal control. The ceremonies are intended also to create a gulf between the past life of the boy and the future life of the man, which can never be re-crossed. They are also intended to strengthen the authority of the elder men over the younger. Finally, the opportunity is taken of impressing upon the mind of the youth, in an indelible manner, those rules of conduct which form the moral law of the tribe."¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ Pritchard—"Researches Phys. Hist. Mankind," v (n.d.), p. 268.

^{147a} Byrre—"Journ. Two Exped. Discovery N.W. and W. Austr.," 1837-39, ii, 1841, p. 228.

¹⁴⁸ Frazer—"Belief in Immortality and Worship of the Dead," i, 1913, p. 95.

¹⁴⁹ Mathew—"Eaglehawk and Crow," 1899, p. 110.

¹⁵⁰ Vol. i, No. 5, 1897, p. 97.

¹⁵¹ Mathew—"Ibid.," p. 108.

¹⁵² Fraser—"The Aborigines of New South Wales"—*Journ. R. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xvi, 1883, p. 205.

¹⁵³ Fraser—"Ibid.," p. 203; "The Aborigines of Australia, their Ethnic Position and Relations"—*Journ. Vict. Inst.*, xxii, 1889, p. 162.

^{153a} Montgomery, (J.)—"Journ. Voy. and Travels by the Rev. D. Tyerman and G. Bennett," ii, 1831, p. 155.

¹⁵⁴ Howitt—"On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiii, 1884, p. 457.

It is quite clear, therefore, the exhibition of the carved trees was intended as a portion of the tuition and means of impression of the neophyte; tuition in tribal lore, impressions of the importance and sacredness of this lore. Referring to this, Dr. John Fraser said:—"Meanwhile the boy has been sitting in the small circle, with downcast eyes. He is told to rise, and and is led in succession to each of the carved trees around it, and is made to look up for a moment at the carvings on them;" the meanings were then doubtless explained to him.¹⁵⁵

It even appears possible for a burial to take place in a Bora ground. for Dr. Fraser¹⁵⁶ refers to the interment of a headman in such a position. This is confirmed by Dr. Howitt, who, in writing of the Kamilaroi said:—"A headman might be buried in a Bora ground under one of the marked trees."¹⁵⁷

2. MODE OF PREPARATION AND SIZE OF TELETEGLYPHS.

As a general statement Mr. G. F. Angas¹⁵⁸ remarked that in the Macquarie district the tree-barking was done with "their weapons."

The method of preparation has already been referred to in the General Section, but a few more instances may not be out of place.

(a) *Outlined by nicks or cuts in the bark with a tomahawk.*—From Mr. R. H. Mathews' remarks¹⁵⁹ the Richmond and Clarence Rivers tribes are presumed to have adopted this method. An "iguana" (Pl. xv, fig. 2d), four feet two inches long outlined on a tree at Stony Creek, Manning River, is similarly produced (No. 85).

(b) *Bark within outline removed, exposing the sapwood.*—Other illustrations of this process are representations of the moon on its back, and below it either the full moon or the sun (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (3 and 9)), at the Bulgeraga Creek and Gnoura Gnoura Bora grounds¹⁶⁰ (Nos. 70, 72); possibly also the mud turtle (*Id.*, fig. 1 (5)), and the two curious oval figures (*Id.*, fig. 1 (4)) at the former locality. There is a curious general resemblance here to the glyph on one of the trees surrounding the "doctor's" grave at Milo Mungery (No. 18, Pl. xxviii, fig. 4). The fine iguana at Coronga Park

(No. 67, Pl. xxix, fig. 2) of the nearly extinct Mulga tribe; so also the double iguanas on the ground at the Bogan River, near Nyngan (No. 68, Pl. xxv, fig. 4, Pl. xxvi, fig. 2), as well as the sacred tiger-snake of the tribe (Pl. xxvi, fig. 3) are all of this nature.

(c) *Cut in the heart-wood, after removal of bark and sapwood.*—Records are very scanty under this section in consequence of the vague and imperfect descriptions of many Bora trees. I am, however, able to quote two reliable instances. One (No. 76, Pl. xii, fig. 4.) from the Meei Creek and Goonah branch of the Gwydir River, presented to the Trustees by Staff Surveyor A. Lockhart, and said to be one of many at the locality in question; two others from Brigalow Creek, Wee Waa District, presented by Messrs. W. L. Hepburn and S. Thorley (No. 74, Pl. xi, fig. 3 and 4). The motive is precisely similar to that of many taphoglyphs.

(d) *By scratching or incising a bark surface.*—The figure of "Piame" (? Baiame) at the Bogan Bora ground, near Nyngan (No. 68, Pl. xxvi, fig. 1), appears to be so produced. Probably also the twenty-one teleteglyphs forming the group at Stony Creek, a north-westerly branch of the Manning River (No. 85, Pl. xv, fig. 2a-h) were similarly prepared; the glyphs extended from six to twenty-two feet up the boles; some were incised all round, others only on the side facing the circle. One of these (Pl. xv, fig. 2h), covering twenty-one feet eight inches, must have been a remarkable object. These heights, however, are exceeded by the trees of the Gloucester Bora ground figured by Dr. J. Fraser, one glyph at least extending upwards as much as twenty-five feet.

(e) *Cut out in bark as separate figures.*—Figures are at times produced by this method, which, although hardly akin to the glyphs already referred to may, for completeness sake, be mentioned here. Mathews states (No. 77) that at the Gundablui Bora, the iguana figure (Pl. vii, fig. 6a), with those of the sun and moon and two male figures representing the sons of Baiame (Pl. vii, fig. 6c), were cut out in bark and hung on neighbouring trees.

3. SITES OF TELETEGLYPHS.

The chief consideration in selecting a suitable site to conduct the Bora ceremonies appears to have been proximity to water, and sufficiently level to permit sitting or lying.¹⁶⁰ At the same time there does not appear to

¹⁵⁵ Fraser—"Aborigines of New South Wales." World's Columbian Expos. Chicago, 1893—Sydney, 1892, p. 12; *Mém. Soc. Océanienne*, i, pt. 1, 1889, p. 13 (separate copy).

¹⁵⁶ Fraser—*Journ. R. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xvi, 1893, p. 229.

¹⁵⁷ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S. E. Austr.," 1904, p. 467.

¹⁵⁸ Angas—"Savage Life and Scenes in Australia," ii, 1847, p. 222.

¹⁵⁹ Mathews—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, X (n.s.), 1897, p. 39.

¹⁶⁰ Fraser—"Aborigines of New South Wales"—*Journ. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xvi, 1893, p. 205.

have been any restriction as to height above sea level, of course within a moderate degree. The Bora ground seen by Henderson near Wellington (No. 66) was in a "secluded part of the forest near the rich green banks of the Macquarie."¹⁶¹ On the other hand Mr. R. Sadlier, R.N., was shown "places on the tops of hills in general, where the trees were marked with various devices, and there was a circular path all round."¹⁶² This statement is supported by Dr. J. Fraser's account (No. 89) of an important site near Gloucester (Pl. v, fig. 1), which lay "in the thickest depths of the forest there, on a mountain spur which runs east and west."¹⁶³ Another consideration seems to have been, following the same author, the inclination of the surface, for Fraser says of the Gloucester ground:—"As usual, the path from the lower circle to the sacred one leads up hill, and so the site of the latter cannot be seen from below."

The "Gaboora" ground of the Hastings River natives was, says Mr. P. Cohen, "of necessity in close proximity to a densely-wooded mountain or range of hills, and near to a forest of great trees, the latter having within its boundaries a rivulet or creek of running water."¹⁶⁴

Staff-Surveyor A. Lockhart informs me that in the Gwydir River country both Bora and burial grounds were situated usually on sandy knolls, but at the Meei River and Goonah branch the site, whence one of the boles represented in Pl. xii (fig. 4) came, was an exception, being on true "black" soil (No. 76).

Ceremonies of initiation were held, as a rule, at the time of full moon, and usually at the same spot in the several districts.¹⁶⁵

4. NUMBER OF TELETEGLYPHS TO A SITE.

Again information is rather meagre. On the banks of the Macquarie Mr. Henderson's plan displays thirty (No. 66, Pl. ii, fig. 1) distributed over a mile. Dr. Fraser's plan of the Gloucester ground (No. 88, Pl. v, fig. 1) exhibits nine trees around the larger circle. At Gundablui twelve were counted by Mathews (No. 77, Pl. vii, fig. 6a-c). On the "Ka-burrow" ground at Moonbi seventeen glyphs were sketched (No. 87, Pl. xv, fig. 1a-g)

¹⁶¹ Henderson—"Obs. Colonies N.W. Wales and V. D. Land," 1892, p. 145.

¹⁶² Sadlier—"Aborigines of Australia," 1883, p. 12.

¹⁶³ Fraser—"Aborigines of New South Wales."—World's Columbian Expos., Chicago, 1893 (Sydney, 1892).

¹⁶⁴ Cohen—"Science of Man," i, 1898, p. 33.

¹⁶⁵ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 594.

by Mr. S. Gelding. Of the trees on the celebrated Bogan ground near Nyngan Mr. Milne possesses photographs of at least six (No. 68). The beautiful bark-incised tree from the Smoky Cape Ranges (No. 81, Pl. xiii, fig. 3) was one of seven. At Stony Creek, Manning River (No. 85, Pl. xv, fig. 2a-h), Mr. Mathews counted twenty-one. The two largest series were those at Bulgeraga Creek, Macquarie River, and at the junction of the Page and Isis Rivers. At the former locality (No. 70, Pl. vi, figs. 1 and 2), fifty-nine trees were distributed over one hundred and thirty-eight yards, and at the latter (No. 90, Pl. xviii, fig. 1a-d), one hundred and twenty were counted by a Mr. Macdonald. This is the largest number of which I have any record. At probably the most interesting of all the Bora grounds, that at Redbank Creek, Tallwood Holding, beyond Mungindi (No. 96), the carved trees extended for a length of one hundred and seventy-five yards. I use the words "most interesting" because this occurrence proves the conveyance of the teleteglyph cult into South-east Queensland.

5. POSITIONS OF TELETEGLYPHS ON BORA GROUNDS.

At the secluded site visited by Henderson, near Wellington (No. 66), there was a long straight avenue of marked trees extending for about a mile towards one of the circles, which he termed "the Temple." A similar arrangement seems to have existed at Bulgeraga Creek, where, according to Mathews, the carvings were sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other side of the track (No. 70). On the Gundablui ground the graven trees were along the path proceeding from the larger circle (No. 77), the same author says, apparently similar to Henderson's Wellington scene. At Redbank Creek, Tallwood Holding, the teleteglyphs were scattered here and there for a distance of one hundred and seventy-five yards (No. 96) along the track from the *goonaba* [smaller circle]. Mr. Mathews said "some of these trees were quite close to the track; others were eight or ten feet back from it on either side, and three of them were around outside the goonaba embankment."

This arrangement of the trees along the path and round one of the circles appears to have prevailed amongst the tribes on the north-east coast of this State (No. 79). By the Kombinegherry, as Mr. E. Palmer termed the Bellinger River tribe (No. 80), the trees around the ring are incised, but no differentiation is made as to which circle. On the other hand, amongst the Richmond and Clarence Rivers tribes it was the trees around the smaller circle so used (No. 79), but the contrary occurred on the Manning River (No. 85);

at the Gloucester Bora ground, of which a plan, reproduced from Dr. J. Fraser's original, will be found in Pl. v, fig. 1 (No. 88), and on a tributary of the Alleyn River (No. 91). On the Main Dividing Range between Moonbi and Ben Lomond a reversion to this decorated smaller circle appears to have taken place (No. 86).

On the whole there does not appear to have been any settled and defined customs of teleteglyph arrangement.

6. THE DESIGNS PORTRAYED ON TELETEGLYPHS.

In the following descriptions only the more important motive is referred to. For many of the minor and less decided figures, I have failed to find terms sufficiently comprehensive to embrace them.

For wealth of detail, and certainly in two cases for intricacy, I regard the Gloucester group (No. 89) as the most complete. For crudeness and simplicity the selected glyphs from the Bora ground at the junction of the Page and Isis Rivers are remarkable.

Our teleteglyphs are divisible into four convenient groups :—(a) Quasi-geometrical designs; (b) physiomorphous motive; (c) zoomorphous figures; (d) anthropomorphous facsimiles.

Some of the quasi-geometrical designs closely resemble those seen on taphoglyphs. This is specially the case with rhomboid glyphs, such, for instance, as those at Brigalow Creek, near Wee Waa (No. 74, Pl. xi, figs. 3 and 4), and two of those at Stony Creek, Manning River (No. 85, Pl. xv, figs. 2c and 2h).

A.—QUASI-GEOMETRICAL MOTIVE.

Rhomboid—An exceedingly fine example of concentric rhomboid design may be seen on one of the Gloucester teleteglyphs (Pl. xv, fig. 3 (5)), and to a lesser extent on that immediately below the last, associated with ovoid figures (*Id.*, fig. 3 (8)). As a portion of this same group, are two very extraordinary glyphs. One (*Id.*, fig. 1 (4)) exhibits rhomboid design divided through the centre by a sharp line, with another presenting what a geologist would call "fault" indications. On the other glyph referred to are two large concentric circles bisected by multi-rhomboid figures (*Id.*, fig. 1 (3)). At

Stony Creek, Manning River, this rhomboid design covered a bole to the extent of twenty-one feet eight inches long, and, making allowance for a small clear free space at the base, extended to a height of twenty-two feet ¹⁶⁶ (Pl. xv, fig. 2 (h)).

Fluctuate—A multi-wave or rolling motive existed on one of the Stony Creek trees, consisting of six waves of a very marked character (Pl. xv, fig. 2 (g)).

Zigzag (longitudinal)—Both at Wellington (Pl. ii, fig. 1 (a, b) and at Gundabui motive of this nature was seen by Messrs. Henderson and Mathews respectively, but so far as figured neither at two other extensive grounds, Bulgeraga and Gnoura Gnoura Creeks. On the other hand, at Stony Creek was a glyph of multi-zigzags of a very conspicuous nature (Pl. xv, fig. 2 (b)).

Bicircinate—This device, occasionally seen on taphoglyphs, is represented on one of the Wellington boles (Pl. ii, fig. 1 (i)), figured by J. Henderson.

Chevrans—Both normal and reversed are represented at Bulgeraga Creek (Pl. vi, fig. 2 (2, 8) or Gnoura Gnoura; the record is not by any means clear.

V-shaped—In only one instance has a V-shaped device come under notice. Henderson gave two figures in his Wellington series—one midway on a bole, the other extending from some height downwards to the ground (Pl. ii, fig. 1 (j, y)).

Cross-hatched—Similar to the taphoglyph at Neba Homestead (No. 46, Pl. ix, fig. 4), this motive is met with at two localities—Bulgeraga Creek (Pl. vi, fig. 2 (12) (? or Gnoura Gnoura), and a much finer example at Gloucester (Pl. xv, fig. 3 (6)).

Circles (concentric)—A very good example of this motive was on one of the repeatedly mentioned Stony Creek, Manning River group, circles united by the serpentine course of the outer groove (Pl. xv, fig. 2 (f)).

Points—Punctæ are not commonly met with; in fact, they are rare. Two of Henderson's drawings in the Wellington group (Pl. ii, fig. 1 (c and o)), in one instance from the base upwards, in the other some distance along the bole and above another figure, illustrate them.

¹⁶⁶ Mathews—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi, 1897, p. 332.

Cordate—A heart-shaped figure was seen by the same traveller on another of the same group of teletelyphs (Pl. ii, fig. 1 (k)), a very uncommon motive.

St. Andrew's Cross—Below the human figure at Gnoura Gnoura Creek was incised a cross of this nature within a circle, and on a contiguous tree two similar crosses without circles (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (12-14)).

Scroll—The subjects of Pl. xii, fig. 4, and Pl. xxxii, fig. 2, obverse and reverse of the same tree, fall within this category. The bole occurred on the Meei River (No. 76), and was one of many at the Bora site there. A modification of this design is possibly seen on one of the trees at the Old Bora ground on Collymungle Holding, No. 71a (Pl. xxxv, fig. 2).

Spiral—Glyphs of this nature appear to have been a rather favourite device on teletelyphs. At least four instances occur on the Wellington group (No. 66) alone, varying from two to thirteen in a design, either close together or apart from one another, and dextral or sinistral. At Gnoura Gnoura (No. 72) are four spiral lines on the one bole (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (10)). At Bulgeraga Creek (No. 70) the spirals are again grouped, five or seven to the group (Pl. vi, fig. 2 (7)).

Ovate—Many forms of concentric ovals are exhibited on the Gloucester trees (No. 88), and the figures placed at varying angles. For a redundancy of any one particular design this group of teletelyphs easily assumes the first place. Similar semi-ovate design is shown in Henderson's Wellington figures, and on another bole semi-concentric design. It would appear as if this ovate motive was much in vogue in this eastern and central-eastern area of New South Wales. It is also to be seen on one of the trees at Stony Creek, Manning River (No. 85).

Shuttles—At Stony Creek (No. 85) a series of concentric shuttles conjoined extends up the bole of a tree for fifteen feet (Pl. xv, fig. 2 (5)). Two ovals concentric and conjoined are to be seen in the Bulgeraga group (No. 70, Pl. vi, fig. 2 (6)).

B.—PHYSIOMORPHOUS MOTIVE.

Motive of this nature occurs in some of the illustrations of Bora trees, given by Mr. R. H. Mathews. A bole at the Bulgeraga Creek ground displayed the crescent moon on its back, and below it either a full moon or the sun (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (3), fig. 2 (4)). Another exhibited marks which

he considered to be a representation of lightning, the longitudinal lines, indicating the course of the electric fluid down the trunk, and zig-zag lines forked lightning¹⁶⁷ (*Id.*, fig. 1 (1), fig. 2 (13)). The longitudinal lines on one of the Wellington trees appeal to me far more as a representation of lightning than do those at Bulgeraga Creek, recorded by Mr. Mathews.

Very similar lunar figures occur on trees at Gnoura Gnoura Creek, thus a crescent moon alone (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (9)), and a four-day old moon on a separate trunk (*Id.*, fig. 1 (15)).

Mathews believes in another method of representing the descent of lightning by spirals (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (10)). I think, however, a more definite explanation is that afforded by Dr. Howitt, who tells us that amongst the Wiradjuri "the men strip off from a tree near the *Gumbu* [lesser *Bunan* of the Yuin] a spiral piece of bark, from the limbs to the ground, which represents the path from the sky to the earth."¹⁶⁸

A variant of the moon and sun (?) figures appears to be the removal of the device in bark, which is then hung on a tree. This was the case at a Kamilaroi Bora, visited by Mathews, and held near Gundablui, on the Moonie River, just below the crossing of the Queensland border boundary line. A figure of the sun, two feet in diameter, and one of the moon, eighteen inches in diameter were so made and treated, the sun placed at the eastern, and the moon at the western extremity of the symbolical representations¹⁶⁹. Similar representations of the moon and supposed lightning were again met with on the Redbank Creek Bora ground, Tallwood Holding, beyond Mungindi, in South-east Queensland.¹⁶⁹

C.—ZOOMORPHOUS FIGURES.

Lace Lizard—There are many instances of representations of the so-called iguana or "goana." At Coronga Park, near Byrock (No. 67), and on the Bogan River, north-east of Nyngan (No. 68) are still to be seen the remains of two of the most important Bora sites in New South Wales—those of the extinct Mulga and Bogan-Myall tribes. At the first of these localities Mr. Milne found the representation of a fine lace lizard (Pl. xxix, fig. 2), and at the second an equally good one (Pl. xxv, fig. 4). On another ground

¹⁶⁷ Mathews—*Science of Man*, i, No. 8, 1898, pp. 186-7; *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxv, 1896, p. 360.

¹⁶⁸ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 585.

¹⁶⁹ Mathews—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, 1895, p. 417, pl. xxi, figs. 14-15.

¹⁷⁰ Mathews—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, xx (n.s.), 1897, p. 147.

at Marra Creek, two lizards were represented on the one tree (No. 69, Pl. xxvi, fig. 2). Mr. Mathews recorded the existence of three lizard figures on the anabranch of the Macquarie River known as Bulgeraga Creek (No. 70, Pl. vi, fig. 1 (6); fig. 2 (14.17.18)); one of these measured six feet in length, and nine inches transversely, and the smallest four feet six inches in length.

At the Kamilaroi Bora attended by Mr. Mathews, near Gundablui, near the Moonie River, a little below the Queensland-New South Wales border (No. 77), the lizard figure (Pl. vii, fig. 6 (a)), was cut out of bark and fastened to a tree.¹⁷⁰

Two other important occurrences remain to be mentioned, one in the north-easterly central portion of this State. At Redbank Creek, Tallwood Holding (No. 96), the iguana was five feet two inches long;¹⁷¹ at Gnoura Gnoura in outline only, six feet long (No. 72, Pl. vi, fig. 1 (11)).

On the eastern side may be mentioned Stony Creek, Manning River, (No. 85), where the reptile represented was four feet two inches long. This figure is an exception to the general rule in that the head is turned to one side, whereas in all the other instances referred to the head coincides with the longer axis of the body, in other words is fore and aft.

In all probability one of the best representations of the "iguana" was that at the site near Gloucester (Pl. iv, fig. 1), figured by Dr. J. Fraser.

Fish—Representations of fish do not appear to be of common occurrence. At the Gnoura Gnoura Creek ground (No. 72), two may be seen on a trunk (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (10)), one head upwards, the other head downwards, both about fourteen inches long; on a third bole two others, with both heads upwards (*Id.*, fig. 1 (13)), in this instance, one foot eight inches long and eight inches broad. Again in the Bulgeraga group (No. 70) are two on one tree, heads upwards and downwards (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (2)); the former is two feet ten inches long by one foot wide, the latter one foot eight inches long by nine inches wide. There is one feature in common between the reversed fish glyph at both localities, the supplementary symbols are identical.

Turtle—An unmistakable turtle, called by Mr. Mathews a "mud turtle" occurred on one of the trees at Bulgeraga Creek (No. 70, Pl. vi,

fig. 1 (5), fig. 2 (9)), thirty-five inches long, the carapace eleven inches wide. Another turtle accompanies spiral lines and fish on one of the Gnoura Gnoura trees (No. 72, Pl. vi, fig. 1 (10)).

Snakes—A Kamilaroi device, nine feet four inches long, represented a Carpet snake, head downwards, at the Redbank Bora ground (No. 96.) Again, amongst the fine Gnoura Gnoura glyphs a snake is shown, again apparently head downwards (No. 72, Pl. vi, fig. 1 (16)), and on one of the Bulgeraga-Gnoura boles (Pl. vi, fig. 2 (5)), coiled around the trunk ascending. The first of these, Mathews says, was made by wholly removing the bark within the outline, four feet six inches long; the second, or spiral snake, was six feet long. Other glyphs that may be snakes are represented in Henderson's Wellington Group (No. 66, Pl. ii, fig. 1).

Centipede—A large representation of a centipede, "cut in the wood," amongst other Kamilaroi devices, was seen by Mathews at the Redbank Bora ground, Tallwood Holding.¹⁷²

Echidna, or "Porcupine Ant-eater."—At the Bora ground last mentioned (No. 96) an Echidna was cut in the bark of one of the trees.

In addition to the animals already mentioned many others are casually referred to by authors. Thus, Henderson speaks of the phalanger (possum), kangaroo, emu, and cockchafer, but it is not possible to identify them with any of his Wellington glyphs. Mathews mentions the emu, wombat, phalanger, kangaroo, "squirrel," as well as the "iguana" and snakes at the Bora of the Darkinung Tribes, occupying, according to him, the country from Newcastle to "about Sydney" (No. 94).

D.—ANTHROPOMORPHIC FAC-SIMILES.

In the Bora of the Coast Murring, a people inhabiting the south-east coast of New South Wales from Mullacoota Inlet (Victoria) to the Shoalhaven River, a figure of *Daramulan* is cut on some large tree in the attitude of the magic dance.¹⁷³

At a Kamilaroi Bora on the Moonie River, near Gundablui, "two male figures were cut out of bark, and fixed up against trees, one on each side of the pathway; these are said to be the sons of Baiame. The head of

¹⁷⁰ Mathews—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, 1895, p. 417.

¹⁷¹ Mathews—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, ix (n.s.), 1895, p. 148.

¹⁷² Mathews—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, ix (n.s.), 1895, p. 148.

¹⁷³ Howitt—"On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiii, 1884, p. 447.

one of these was ornamented with emu's feathers, and the other held in his hand a hielaman or native shield.¹⁷⁴ An illustration is given of two human figures¹⁷⁵ on a tree trunk (No. 77, Pl. vii, fig. 6 (c)), one above the other, but whether these are the bark effigies referred, or are genuine teleteglyphs, the context does not render clear.

On one of the Wiradjuri Bora trees at Gnoura Gnoura (No. 72, Pl. vi, fig. 1 (12)) is a human representation, two and a half feet long outlined by tomahawk nicks,¹⁷⁶ but not in the usual attitude of the magic dance. Finally we have the representation of Baiame at the Mulga Clan ground on the Bogan River, near Nyngan (No. 68, Pl. xxvi, fig. 1).

The amount of conventionalism used in pictographs and decorative motive by savage races, especially those of the Western South Pacific, is carried to such an extent until at last the object portrayed becomes so modified and altered as to have almost lost its pristine identity. Indeed the untrained eye would often fail to recognise the identity of a motive carving were it not for long association with such objects.

7. EXPLANATION OF TELETEGLYPH MOTIVE.

The zoomorphous designs are in all probability totemic, but amongst the quasi-geometrical figures it is not easy to distinguish between totemic and non-totemic glyphs. If the former are admitted to be of a totemic nature, then it follows that certain specific animals were totems in more than one, and possibly in several tribes, or sub-tribes, of a nation.

In describing the Kamilaroi Bora, Howitt said the "markings" on the trees are traditional. Some were no doubt exhibited as instruction in the rules relating to the restriction of food, for such articles as snakes, emu eggs, body of the lace-lizard, &c., were forbidden to the young of both sexes.¹⁷⁷

The designs both arboreal and terrestrial appear to have been known by a variety of names according to R. H. Mathews. In the Bora ceremony of the Murrumbidgee tribes of the Wiradjuri nation, called the Burbung, the spaces occupied by the figures and carvings, whether on the trees or the

ground were collectively known as *yowan*.¹⁷⁸ On the other hand, in another place he says *yammunyamun* is the "word used by the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri tribes to designate the figures and devices on the ground and on the trees."¹⁷⁹ By the "New England tribes" of the Main Dividing Range from about Moonbi to Ben Lomond the tree patterns cut with a tomahawk in the bark are called *moombeera* or "*mahendee*,"¹⁸⁰ but when referring to the "Richmond and Clarence River Tribes," Mr. Mathews rendered the first of these words *moombeery*.¹⁸¹

In the initiation ceremony of the Murrumbidgee tribes of the Wiradjuri, the tooth extraction is preceded by the stripping of a piece of bark "spirally from a large tree down to the ground. This represents a path from the sky to the earth down which Daramulan descends."¹⁸² Spiral incisions that may be of this nature, existed on at least three of the Wellington group of teleteglyphs (No. 66). Whether or no either of the spirals seen on the Gnoura Gnoura glyphs (? or those at Bulgeraga Creek), and assigned to lightning by Mathews, are of this nature it is difficult to say (No. 70, 72).

The lace-lizard (*duli*), or "iguana," is the totem of one of the exogamous intermarrying sub-class of one of the four classes (*murri*) "covering most of New South Wales, and extending into S.W. of Queensland."¹⁸³ Also in the Wonghibon tribe of the Wiradjuri nation, occupying a tract of country along the Lachlan River, *tali*, the iguana, was the totem of the same class *murri*.¹⁸⁴

The phalanger, or opossum, is the totem of the *Yibai* sub-class of the Wiradjuri.¹⁸⁵ At the Bora ceremony of the Chepara tribe, in the south-east corner of Queensland, the initiate after the ceremony was prohibited from eating doe phalanger. Mathew mentions as one of the male exogamous intermarrying sub-classes *mule*, or opossum, of the class *kubbi*, "covering most of New South Wales," &c., the opossum being the totemic

¹⁷⁸ Mathews—*Journ. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xxxi, 1897, p. 152.

¹⁷⁹ " " *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxv, 1896, p. 302, *f.n.*

¹⁸⁰ " " *Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, ix (n.s.), 1897, p. 122.

¹⁸¹ " " *Ibid.*, x (n.s.), 1897, p. 39.

¹⁸² Howitt—"On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiii, 1884, p. 452, *f.n.*: "Native Tribes of S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 585.

¹⁸³ Mathew—"Eaglehawk and Crow," 1899, p. 103.

¹⁸⁴ Cameron—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiv, 1885, p. 348.

¹⁸⁵ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 514.

¹⁷⁴ Mathews—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, 1895, p. 417.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pl. xxi, fig. 11.

¹⁷⁶ Mathews—*Science of Man*, i, No. 8, 1898, p. 187.

¹⁷⁷ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," 1904, pp. 594-5.

animal.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, the Wonghibon tribe of the Wiradjuri, the *kubbi* class comprises two totems, opossum (*kurakai*) and bandicoot (*kuru*).¹⁸⁷

The phalanger is mentioned by Henderson as one of the designs at the Macquarie group near Wellington (No. 66), and by Mathews at the Bora of the Darkinung tribes (No. 94).

By the Riverina branch of the Wiradjuri, the emu was regarded as Baiaime's food.¹⁸⁸ This again is one of the glyphs mentioned by both the authors mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

The snake is another of the four exogamous intermarrying male classes, *ippai*, with a sub-class *nurai* or black snake; another class is *kumbo*, also with the same sub-class *nurai*.¹⁸⁹ But in the Wonghibon tribe of the Wiradjuri nation, as recorded by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron,¹⁹⁰ the class *ippai* has *wagun*, the crow as a totem. A snake is the *murumbul* of the Yuin branch of the Coast Murring Bora ceremony,¹⁹¹ as a ground figure.

In connection with the snake, Mr. J. Fergusson wrote thus: ^{191a}—"The savages of Australia believe in the existence of a gigantic serpent who created the world by a blow of his tail, and who is the cause of earthquakes. Nothing will induce them, however, to reveal to the white man the rites with which they worship the serpent, but which are reported to include human sacrifices and cannibalism"!

Another of the glyphs mentioned by Mr. Henderson at Wellington is that of the kangaroo. In the Wonghibon Tribe, it is *murua*, a totem of the class *kumbri*.¹⁹²

I am in possession of very little information touching the meaning of the physiomorphic motive. Mr James Manning in "Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales" ¹⁹³ says thunder and lightning were regarded as expressions of Boyne's (? Baiaime) wrath.

Aboriginal folk-lore of the sun and moon in Eastern Australia, although fairly copious, does not throw any light on the presence of representations of these objects on Bora trees.

¹⁸⁶ Mathew—"Eaglehawk and Crow," 1899, p. 103.

¹⁸⁷ Cameron—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xiv, 1885, p. 348.

¹⁸⁸ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," 1904, p. 588.

¹⁸⁹ Mathew—"Loc. cit., p. 103.

¹⁹⁰ Cameron—"Loc. cit., p. 348.

¹⁹¹ Howitt—"Loc. cit., p. 523.

^{191a} Fergusson—"Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd ed., 1873, p. 57.

¹⁹² Cameron—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xiv, 1885, p. 348.

¹⁹³ Manning—"Journ. R. Soc. N.S. Wales, xvi, 1883, p. 165.

Anthropomorphic designs do not appear to be of frequent occurrence. In the ceremony of the Yuin branch of the Coast Murring, the three-foot figure referred to by Howitt as cut on a tree bole is that of *Daramulan*.¹⁹⁴ The initiate is "told of him and his powers, and that he lived beyond the sky."¹⁹⁵ With these people he is the son of *Ngatalbal*, or the Emu,¹⁹⁶ and is the Supernatural Being. On the other hand by the Riverina branch of the Wiradjuri *Daramulan* is the son of *Baiaime*.¹⁹⁷

The figure at the Kamilaroi Bora Ground on the Bogan, photographed by Mr. Milne (No. 68, Pl. xxvi, fig. 1) is probably intended for Baiaime, the Kamilaroi name of the "Maker," who created and preserves all things; generally invisible, he has occasionally appeared in human form.¹⁹⁸ *Baiaime* is the Kamilaroi form of the name, that of the Wiradjuri being *Baiaimai*. The Bora ceremonies of these two nations are based on similar principles, in which *Baiaime* is the central figure of magical tradition and power;¹⁹⁹ the Bora of the one, and Burbung of the other are practically the same.

At the ceremonial ground on the banks of the Macquarie, Henderson was informed by the headman that a number of the glyphs were intended to represent the transmigrations of the numerous offspring of *Piame*, "the father of their race," who, with two exceptions, were destroyed by an evil spirit named *Madjegong*.²⁰⁰

The two anthropomorphous bark cut-outs placed on trees at the Kamilaroi Bora held on the Moonie River, near Gundablui, were intended to represent two sons of *Baiaime*²⁰¹—"Cobbarailbah and Byallaburra" (No. 77, Pl. vii, fig. 6c).

S. DISTRIBUTION OF TELETEGLYPHS.

A.—NEW SOUTH WALES.

65. *Darlington Point* or *Waddi* (about four miles south of), Murrumbidgee River.—Under the title of "The Burbung, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Murrumbidgee Tribes,"²⁰² Mr. R. H. Mathews described a ground between

¹⁹⁴ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 540, fig. 31.

¹⁹⁵ "Loc. cit. p. 543.

¹⁹⁶ " " " p. 546.

¹⁹⁷ " " " p. 555.

¹⁹⁸ Ridley—"Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages," 1875, p. 135.

¹⁹⁹ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S. E. Austr.," 1904, p. 593.

²⁰⁰ Henderson—"Obs. Colonies N. S. Wales and Van Diemen's Land," 1832, p. 147.

²⁰¹ Mathews—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxiv, 1895, p. 417, Pl. xxi, fig. 11.

²⁰² Mathews—"The Burbung or Initiation Ceremonies of the Murrumbidgee Tribes"—*Trans. R. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xxxi, 1897, p. 111.

twenty-five and thirty chains easterly from the eastern boundary of Portion No. 11 of seventy-eight acres, Parish of Waddi, County of Boyd, but at the time of his visit all the ground figures had disappeared and the carved trees rooted out and burnt; the figures and carvings were collectively called *yowan*.

66. *Macquarie River, near Wellington*—"A secluded spot of the forest, near the rich green banks of the River Macquarie."²⁰³ The details of this ground have already been given (pp. 3, 64, 65, 67, 68) and need not be repeated (Pl. ii, fig. 1).

67. *Coronga Park*, about eighteen miles south-south-west of Byrock.—The last Bora ground of the practically extinct people termed by Mr. E. Milne, the "Mulga" tribe. There is here a fine example of a lace-lizard or "goana" cut in the wood of a coolabah tree (Pl. xxix, fig. 2).

The Mulga men were Ishmaelites, chiefly refugees from other tribes, inhabiting the dry country between the Macquarie, Bogan, and the Darling Rivers. The ground at Coronga Park is thus referred to by Mr. Milne in a letter to me:—"Some time in the late nineties the Mulgas met, *i.e.*, all that were left of them. To-day a shoe-shaped space, three hundred and fifteen feet long, with the sacred circle sixty feet in diameter at the heel, and the testing or parade ground at the foot end, across the instep a width of about thirty-six feet, and across the foot about fifty feet. Midway, a giant wilga tree provided the darksome shelter whence during the night sessions issued awesome noises, &c. A carven tree bearing the iguana totem, a few shapeless mounds of earth, two trees buried roots upwards,²⁰⁴ a few scattered and dead scrub woods, and scattered fragments of barriers which protected the sacred ground are all that remain."

"The Bogan and Darling Rivers form the eastern, northern, and western boundaries of a strange and lonely land, the home of the *Gunda-ah-Myro*, or Wild Mulga tribe. A glance at these waterways, as they appear on a map of North-west New South Wales will suggest a crude triangle with the junction of the Bogan and Darling Rivers forming the apex. In the heart of these solitudes, the *Gunda-ah-Myro*, the "men who stay out-back and never come to the rivers," found a city of refuge. From time to time violation of the tribal laws caused a break away of defiant reckless spirits, and with other crime-stained outlaws from the *Why-a-woon-gu* (Darling),

²⁰³ Henderson—"Observations on the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land," 1832, p. 145.

²⁰⁴ A distinctly Kamilaroi custom. It is also common to the Chepara tribe, south of Brisbane (Howitt—"Native Tribes, of S. E. Australia," 1904, p. 81).

Calare (Lachlan), Bogan-gal and Bogan Myall tribes gravitated together,²⁰⁵ and slowly a new power evolved and made itself felt and known in this red-green land. Hardy, fierce, desert-trained warriors, with the iguana as its class totem, and embracing the sub-classes of the emu, the mallee-hen, and the bandicoot, these merged and combined together when danger threatened or pleasure called. In due time the growing strength of the outlaws enabled them to lay claim to the country west of Karamadoo (Oxley's Tableland), and especially the Gunnalla rock-holes on Gundabooka Mountain, inclusive of the Byrock rock-ponds, and far out west to the Wittagoona oasis on the Cookadinn Hills."

68. *Bogan River*,²⁰⁶ fourteen miles north-east of Nyngan.—About half a mile from the river was the last Bora ground, Bogan-gal or Lower Bogan tribe, about 1880. Six carved trees were found by Mr. Milne; one bore the effigy of Piame, a good spirit, cut in the bark; another that of a lace-lizard, apparently in the sapwood; a third snake-lines on a dead tree—nondescript figures cut in bark, and the tiger-snake totem, a figure of the Macquarie River people, cut in the bark (Pl. xxv, figs. 3 and 4, Pl. xxvi, figs. 1, 3, 4). The latter is accounted for by the fact that the Bogan and Macquarie tribes often fraternised.

Surveyor-General Mitchell first made acquaintance with this tribe in 1835,²⁰⁵ and again in the same country in 1846.²⁰⁶

69. *Marra Creek*, a tributary of the Barwon River, between the Bogan and Macquarie rivers, one of the streams assisting to form the great delta of the latter.—Two lace-lizards (iguana) on the same tree, tail to tail (Pl. xxvi, fig. 2), cut in the sapwood.

70. *Bulgera Creek*, an anabranch of the Macquarie River, about twenty-two miles west of Quambone.—A very important Bora ground described by Mr. R. H. Mathews on three different occasions, in three different publications, a proceeding not conducive to accuracy or clearness. The paper first appeared in 1896, "The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes,"²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Mr. Milne believed that three distinct clans collectively occupied the valley of the Bogan from its source to its junction with the Darling River, or nearly so, thus:—(1) Bogan tribe proper—northern and western slopes of the Harvey Range, where the river has its source; (2) Bogan-gal or Bogan-myall—country between Buddah Lake and Nyngan; (3) Bungan or Bungara people, further north, with Gongolgon as head centre.

²⁰⁶ Mr. Milne shortly before his death received authentic information of a Bora ground near the New Year's Range, Bogan River; numerous dendroglyphs are said to exist there. This range, consisting of low sandstone hills, is situated between Byrock and Gongolgon, on the Bogan. It was discovered by Sturt on 17th January, 1839.

²⁰⁷ Mitchell—"Three Exped. Int. E. Austr.", i, 1838, p. 191.

²⁰⁸ Mitchell—"Journ. Expd. Int. Trop. Austr.", 1848, pp. 15, 29-30. See also under Burdenda, No. 23, Distribution of Taphoglyphs (p. 42).

²⁰⁹ Mathews—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst.", xxv, 1896, pp. 295-318, pls. xxv-xxvii.

illustrated by many figures, those bearing on the present subject being on Mathews' Pl. xxvi, figs. 1-18. These are comprised on fifty-nine trees throughout a distance of one hundred and thirty-eight yards, some on one side and some on the other of the pathway extending from a "circle" in the central part of the camp. The designs were mostly mere stripes, straight or spiral, of a very simple design,²⁰⁸ but some "were of the usual *yammunyamun* pattern." This word, it is explained, is that "used by the Kamilaroi and Wiradthuri tribes to designate the figures and devices on the ground and on the trees." The symbols (Pl. vi, fig. 2) are said to represent lightning, unquestionably fish, the moon, and perhaps the sun or full moon, turtle, lace-lizard, and this *yammunyamun* pattern.

In 1898 the tree illustrations of the foregoing paper were published in part as portion of a paper, "Aboriginal Ground and Tree Drawings."²⁰⁹ Only the first six figures bear reference to the Bulgeraga Creek ground, the remainder (Figs. 7-18), all but one (Fig. 17), occurred at another ceremonial spot to be referred to directly; the motive of these glyphs has already been noticed.

It will be observed that in the first article on the Bulgeraga Creek ground there are many more glyphs figured (Pl. vi, fig. 2) than amongst the illustrations of the second article. The accompanying comparison will render this clearer:—

Journ. Anthropol. Inst. xxv, Pl. xxvi.				Science of Man, i, No. 8, p. 187, fig.			
Fig. 1	=	Fig. 2.	...
" 2
" 3
" 4	=	Fig. 3.	...
" 5
" 6	=	Fig. 4.	...
" 7
" 8
" 9	=	Fig. 5.	...
" 10
" 11	=	Fig. 6.	...
" 12
" 13	=	Fig. 1.	...
" 14
" 15
" 16
" 17
" 18

²⁰⁸ Mathews—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxv, pp. 299, 302.

²⁰⁹ Mathews—*Science of Man*, i, No. 8, p. 186, p. 187, figs. The Burbung of the Wiradthuri is the analogue of the Kuringal of the Yuin branch of the Coast Murring. As the Kuringal, but under other names, the ceremony extends from Twofold Bay along the coast to Port Stephens, and also appears to range to the Hastings River (Howitt—"Native Tribes S. E. Austr.", 1904, pp. 578, 583.

71. "Mole Country," *Bulgeraga Creek, Lower Macquarie River*.—This locality is described²¹⁰ as "about three miles [further] down the Bulgeraga Creek" than No. 70, and on the right bank. The same series of objects were depicted on both sides of a path.

71A. *Collymungle Holding* (within two hundred and three hundred yards of the Barwon River), twenty miles north-east of Collarindabri:—Informant, E. Milne, 1917.

1. A large tree incised in the round (Pl. xxxv, figs. 1 and 2), one of eight or nine scattered over about an acre of ground, contiguous to a lagoon, some three hundred yards east of the river; all the boles apparently carved alike.
2. A small tree (Pl. xxxv, fig. 3) standing by itself on the edge of another lagoon, about a quarter of a mile from the river and approximately three-quarters of a mile from No. 1. In a line with the present tree are two other dendroglyphs, one bearing a partly obliterated iguana and the other a snake.

About a third of a mile further out from the position of tree No. 2 and beyond the second lagoon are traces of a Bora ground, where the local head black, "King" Cobbler, went through the ceremony of being made a man some fifty-five years ago. He claims the larger tree, No. 1, to represent his grandfather. These facts, particularly the presence of the "iguana" and snake, point to this area as that of a very extensive Bora ground.

The glyph on one side of No. 1 (Pl. xxxv, fig. 2) is particularly interesting, as the lower portion is clearly a modification of the scroll design. On the other side (Fig. 1) is a semi-spiral that, if complete, would have formed a consecutive rhomboid similar to one on Berida Holding (No. 40n, Pl. xxxv, fig. 4).

72. *Gnoura Gnoura Creek*, about three miles north-westerly of Kunopia, on the Boomi River.—A Bora ground, said to be of the Kamilaroi, the description of the glyphs forming a portion of Mathews' article; "Aboriginal Ground and Tree Drawings," already referred to. Amongst the symbols (Pl. vi, fig. 1 (7-16)) are a moon upon its back and four days old; spiral lines supposed to be those left by lightning, fish, mud turtle,

²¹⁰ Mathews—"The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes."—*Proc. R. Soc. Q'land*, xvi, 1901, p. 35.

lace-lizard, human figure, snake, and *yammungamun* figures. It would appear, therefore, that the symbols used by the Wiradjuri were to all intents and purposes similar to those of the Kamilaroi!

73. *Narran River*, North-Central New South Wales.—In her interesting work, "The Euahlayi Tribe, a Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia,"²¹¹ Mrs. K. L. Parker briefly refers to "carvings on the trees" of this tribe, a neighbour of that called by Dr. A. W. Howitt the Wollaroi,²¹² &c.

"At his second Boorah," says Mrs. Parker, "a man is allowed to see the carvings on the trees and to hear the legend of them,"²¹³

This is the farthest north-west point to which I have been able to trace the teleteglyph cult.

74. *Brigalow Creek*, tributary of the Namoi River, about five miles north-west of Narrabri.—Two boles (Pl. xi, figs. 3 and 4), in the Australian Museum, presented by Mr. W. L. Hepburn, of Wee Waa, and Mr. S. Thorley, of Brigalow Creek. A number of Bora trees are said to exist hereabouts. It will be noticed that the motive on these boles is quite in accord with that of many taphoglyphs recorded in previous pages.

75. *Gurah (or Garah) Holding*, forty miles north of Moree.—I know of this instance only through a short account by Mr. A. Hopkins entitled "Bora Ceremony."²¹⁴ Within the smaller circle, called *goonaba*, or Baiamai's ground "there are numerous markings on the trees, and strange figures and devices made of earth to represent Bava-mai, are standing about. The initiates, who have so far been moving about with heads bowed, for the first time look up, and are then shown the different figures, together with markings on the trees, and their significance is fully explained to them." This to me is one of the more important instances of a Bora ceremony, because Mr. Hopkins says, "a new song was introduced by the section of the tribe that came from Queensland." Information relating to the introduction or existence of these rites in the sister State is so scanty it becomes necessary to record even the most trivial details relating thereto.

76. *Meei River and Goonal Branch of the Gwydir River Junction*.—A bole presented by Staff-Surveyor A. Lockhart through Mr. P. G. Williams, Secretary, Ethnological Committee, Sydney. This tree (Pl. xii, fig. 4,

²¹¹ Svo, London, 1905.

²¹² Howitt—"Native Tribes, S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 57.

²¹³ Parker—*Ibid.*, p. 79.

²¹⁴ Hopkins—*Science of Man*, iv, No. 4, 1901, p. 62.

Pl. xxxii, fig. 2) was one of many at a Bora ground as above, situated on black soil and not on a sandy knoll, which Mr. Lockhart says is the usual position of these sites in this district.

The motive of this glyph is of an exceedingly interesting nature, being a double circinate, or scroll pattern.

77. *Gundablui (half a mile west of)* on the Moonie River, about twelve miles above its confluence with the Barwon River.—Another Bora ground of great importance situated ten or twelve miles below the crossing of the Queensland border at the Moonie River, as the ceremony was attended by Queensland blacks from the Moonie River, St. George, and Welltown.²¹⁵ Here not more than a dozen trees along the pathway from the larger circle were incised, said Mathews, none higher than a man could reach from the ground. The devices were cut through the bark and into the wood (Pl. vii, fig. 6 a-e). Figures of the sun, two feet in diameter, and moon were cut out of bark and hung on trees, the former at the eastern, the latter at the western end of the symbolical representations present. Near the sun were two male figures, also cut out of bark, and placed against trees, which were said to represent sons of Baiamai²¹⁶; in a similar position was also the figure of a lace-lizard and cut out of bark.

The Moonie River was explored by Mitchell in 1846,²¹⁷ although he approached within a comparatively short distance of it during his first expedition in 1832.

78. *North-east Coast, New South Wales*.—Areas of the Orara, Boyd, Mitchell, and Upper Clarence Rivers, bounded on the west by the New England Tableland. Under this wide and unsatisfactory definition Mr. R. H. Mathews described what he termed "The Walloonggurra Ceremony."²¹⁸ No particular locality or tribal boundaries are given. Near one of the camps a circular space is cleared, and the two are connected by a narrow pathway. "On either side is the track where it approaches the ring, and also around the boundary of the latter, the trees are marked with the customary *moombeery* devices. Several patterns, consisting of wavy lines and imperfect ovals, and

²¹⁵ Mathews—"The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe,"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, 1895, p. 411, pl. xxi.

²¹⁶ Mathews—*Ibid.*, p. 417, pl. xxi, figs. 11, 14, 15. This paper with introductory additions and different title, "Aboriginal Bora held at Condobolin in 1894," was reproduced, word for word in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxviii, 1895, p. 93.

²¹⁷ Mitchell—"Journ. Exped. Int. Trop. Austr.," 1848, p. 382, *et. seq.*

²¹⁸ Mathews—*Q'land Geogr. Journ.*, xv. (n.s.), No. 1, 1900, p. 67.

quadrilaterals, are also cut into the surface of the ground." I presume the *moombeery* devices are the equivalent of the *yammunyanun* previously mentioned.

79. *Richmond and Clarence Rivers, North-East New South Wales.*—Another general account by Mr. Mathews²¹⁹, of the initiation ceremonies of the "tribes who occupy the country watered by the Richmond and Clarence Rivers." The trees around the smaller of two circles "are marked with tomahawks in different patterns All the drawings on the trees and on the surface of the soil are called *moombeery*. The initiates are first shown the ground figures and then those on the tree-boles.

Dr. Howitt states that the Richmond River tribes foregathered with the Chepara people on the further side of the New South Wales-Queensland border. He said:—"A space of ground of nearly a mile in circumference is prepared by stripping the bark from the trees and marking them, as well as clearing away the bushes."²²⁰ In the Grafton district the dendroglyphs were called *moonbie*, so says Mr. A. C. McDougall.²²¹

80. *Bellinger River, North-East New South Wales.*—By the Kombinegherry, or Bellinger and Macleay Rivers tribe, the trees all round the Bora ring were "marked with various signs."²²²

81. *Smoky Cape Ranges, Macleay River District, North-east New South Wales.*—This magnificent example of bark carving (Pl. xiii, fig. 3) was procured by Mr. P. E. Williams, a former Commissioner of the New South Wales Government Savings Bank. It formed one of seven trees surrounding a Bora ground. The carving is circumferential, and extends to a height of fifteen feet from the ground.

82. *Macleay and Nambucca Rivers, North-east New South Wales.*—The Bora or *caubarra* ground is usually situated on the summit of some round-topped hill, "and the surrounding trees are minutely tattooed and carved to such a considerable altitude, that one cannot but feel astonished at the labour bestowed upon this work."²²³

²¹⁹ Mathews—"The Wandarral of the Richmond and Clarence River Tribes"—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.* x (n.s.), 1897, p. 39.

²²⁰ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Austr.," 1904, pp. 579-80.

²²¹ McDougall—*Science of Man*, ii, No. 10, 1899, p. 194.

²²² Palmer—"Notes on some Australian Tribes."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiii, 1884, pp. 278 and 295.

²²³ Hodgkinson—"Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay," &c., 1845, p. 231.

83. *Hillgrove (near)*:—Informant, R. T. Baker.—One tree (Pl. xiv, fig. 1), from a negative by the Rev. J. Milne Curran, the enlargement by Mr. Ramsey, of the Technical College, Sydney, and presented by Mr. R. T. Baker, Curator, Technological Museum. The design is said to have been cut in the bark—beyond this I know nothing of the dendroglyph, nor does Mr. Baker.

84. *Hastings River District, North-east New South Wales.*—The Bora ceremony, as practised in this district under the name of *gaboora*, has been well described²²⁴ by Mr. Philip Cohen. He says huge trees in every direction at the "sacred ground" were blazed, and numbers denuded of their bark half-way up the trunks. On these were exhibited "marvellously carved and engraved representations of animals, reptiles, fishes, insects, and human beings in all manners (*sic*) of grotesque shapes and forms in addition to other extraordinary similitudes of known and unknown objects."

Lieut. W. H. Breton, R.N., referred to the ceremony called "kabbarah" at Port Macquarie, at the entrance of the Hastings River.²²⁵ He said the summit of an "eminence" or low hill was chosen, the surface carefully cleared of grass, "and the bark of any trees that may be near is carved into rude representations of different animals."

85. *Stony Creek, Manning River, East-Central New South Wales*, a north-easterly branch of this river.—The last Bora on the Manning River took place on a part of the Australian Agricultural Company's Grant in 1889, about three-quarters of a mile up Stony Creek, from Tinonee to George Town Crossing-place. According to Mr. Mathews the ceremony known as *keeparra*²²⁶ was common to the tribes extending "from about Newcastle almost to the Macleay River, comprising approximately the counties of Macquarie, Hawes, Gloucester, and the eastern half of the county of Durham." Around the larger circle were marked trees (Pl. xv, fig. 2, a-h), with devices cut on the bark only, extending from near the butts to from six to twenty-two feet up the trunks. Some of the latter were incised all round, others only on the side facing the circle; there were twenty-one trees in all so incised. The name applied to these glyphs was *dharrook* or *dhar-roong*. A lace-lizard ("iguana") was represented on one tree (Pl. xv, fig. 2d),

²²⁴ Cohen—*Austr. Anthropol. Journ.*, i, No. 4, 1897, p. 83, No. 5, p. 97, No. 6, p. 115.

²²⁵ Breton—"Excursions in New South Wales," &c., 1830-33, 1833, p. 232.

²²⁶ Mathews—"The Keeparra Ceremony of Initiation"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi, p. 20, pl. xxxii.

four feet two inches long; this was outlined by a thick tomahawk-cut. The rhomboids shown on Fig. 2h of the same plate covered twenty-one feet eight inches of the bole. The concentric ovals on Figs. 2a and 2e extended upwards for fifteen feet.²²⁷

The area referred to above embraces two of the last sites (Nos. 82 and 85) the Smoky Cape Ranges and Cohen's Hastings River District.

At the Wilson and Hastings Rivers *keeparra*, Mr. G. R. Brown says:—"Each tribe [was] given a tree to carve."²²⁸

83. *Main Dividing Range*, from about Moonbi to Ben Lomond.—To "The Burbung of the New England Tribes, New South Wales"²²⁹ Mr. Mathews assigns "a strip of elevated country along the Main Dividing Range from about Moonbi to Ben Lomond, comprising what is called the 'Table Land' of New England. The territory of these tribes extended down the eastern side of this range perhaps as far as Walcha, Hillgrove, and Oban. On the west of the main range they included Bendemeer, and reach almost to Bundarra and Inverell, adjoining the Kamilaroi tribes all the way." On the bark of a number of the tree trunks around the smaller circle were various wavy and zig-zag oval figures cut with a tomahawk; these glyphs were termed *moomberra* or *mahindee*,²³⁰ the first a term also employed by the north-east coast tribes (see Nos. 78, 79).

87. *Moonbi, near Tamworth*.—In the *Town and Country Journal* of 19th September, 1896,²³¹ there appeared an illustrated article on "Marked Trees at Moonbi, near Tamworth, New South Wales," the illustrations by Mr. T. Golding. Had this account been less vague, and better edited, it would have been a very valuable contribution. The illustrations (Pl. xv., fig. 1, a—h) "depict the marked trees and painted rocks at Moonbi . . . The trees of the Ka-burrow ground bear marks which are supposed to refer to certain aborigines who were made what was known as Ka-burrows. The markings of eight of these trees are shown, but there are nine others, the markings of which were too overgrown for delineation."

²²⁷ Mathews—"The Keeparra Ceremony of Initiation"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi, p. 322.

²²⁸ Brown—"Linguistics"—*Science of Man*, i, No. 4, 1898, p. 89.

²²⁹ Mathews—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, ix (n.s.), 1897, p. 120.

²³⁰ Mathews—*Ibid.*, p. 122.

²³¹ *T. and C. Journal*, liii, No. 1389, 1896, p. 29. Republished in *Science of Man*, i, No. 1, 1898, pp. 12 and 14. Illustrations again published, *Loc. cit.*, ix, No. 2, 1907, pp. 22-23.

The term "Ka-burrow" ground is presumed to be a Bora site. The explanations of the figures as given are as follow:—

Original.			Pl. xv., fig. 1.		Explanation.
Fig. 1	...	...	Fig. a	...	<i>mamboo</i> , a spirit
" 2	...	...	" b	...	<i>mooto mooto</i> , black snake.
" 3	...	...	" c	...	<i>pirripi</i> , shell-fish
" 4	...	...	" d	...	<i>waull bundree</i> , (!)
" 5	...	...	" e	...	<i>kanggad</i> , geelung.
" 6	...	...	" f	...	<i>wulkin wulkin</i> , crooked boundaries.
" 7	...	...	" g	...	<i>waughwipia</i> , brown snake.

The terms *cawarra* of the Macleay River (see No. 82), *gaboora* of the Hastings (see No. 84), *keeparra* of the Manning (see No. 85), and this *kaburrow* are evidently all variants of one and the same word, signifying the Bora ceremony.

88. *Gloucester (near the town of)*.—A Bora ground "in the thickest depths of the forest there, on a mountain spur which runs east and west," was examined by Dr. John Fraser about 1887,²³² who gave an excellent plan of the site (Pl. v., fig. 1) and the incised trees (Pl. xv., fig. 3 (1—9)) around the larger circle; one of the glyphs extended for twenty and another for twenty-five feet up the respective trunks. The glyphs are of a high order and very interesting.

89. *Gloucester, fifteen miles north-east of*.—At this locality is one of the best examples of a teleteglyph I know of—A large lace-lizard, head upwards (Pl. iv. fig. 1) was cut in the sapwood, as the sketch renders it clear the whole of the bark was removed previous to incision. Under the left foreleg is a human figure with arms elevated, and below the right hind leg another, but armless. Below the right foreleg is a nondescript animal form, and behind the left hind leg two concentric ovals. Dr. Fraser remarks that the lizard is a totem to one of the tribal classes.²³³

90. *Page and Isis Rivers Junction*, tributary of the Hunter River near Scone.—"In a pleasant glen at the foot of one of the highest hills in the neighbourhood," is situated the Bora ground. Round about the site are about one or a hundred and twenty trees marked with tomahawks (Pl. xviii, fig. 1 a—d), on some the incisions reaching as high as fifteen

²³² Fraser—"The Aborigines of New South Wales"—*World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*—Sydney, 1892, p. 91, pl. opp. p. 11.

²³³ Fraser—*Ibid.*, p. 91, pl. opp. p. 42.

feet.²³⁴ This site would be in the territory of either the Geawe-gal or Gringai. Amongst the symbols of the former, "of the Hunter River," says Howitt,²³⁵ were "parallel lines with other marks on the trees surrounding the site of the ceremony." Trees were also "carved" near to both of the circles amongst the Gringai. "The boy is taken to each of them. He looks at them for a moment, when the old men give a great shout."²³⁶

91. *Allyn River, branch of the Paterson River*.—On left bank of a small tributary of the former three or four miles north-west of Gresford.²³⁶ There were formerly several marked trees around the smaller circle, but at the time of Mr. Mathews' visit these had been burnt down and destroyed by bush fires. A few other incised trees with the glyphs still preserved were situated at a short distance from the circle along the top of a ridge.

92. *Forster, Cape Hawke*.—The Kutthung tribe of Port Stephens held their Bora (Keeparra) at Forster. The territory occupied by these people extended along the Karuah River's southern bank and the southern shore of Port Stephens to Pipeclay Creek. Mr. W. Enright, whose account I quote from,²³⁷ says that along the pathway between the usual two circles the trees "have geometrical figures and representations of various animals carved on their trunks." Dr. A. W. Howitt has also partially described the Port Stephens ceremony.²³⁸

93. *Hunter River District*.—A Wonnah-Ruah tribe is spoken of by Mr. J. W. Fawcett as "inhabiting the Hunter River district. . . . an area upwards of 2,000 square miles, and included all the country drained by the Hunter River and its tributaries." In the vicinity of the usual circular clearings some of the trees "were marked with rudely-drawn and cut animals, the totems or badges of the tribe, and designs, the meaning of which they would never disclose."²³⁹

²³⁴ Macdonald—"The Aborigines of the Page and Isis [Rivers]"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vii, 1878, pp. 255, 257.

²³⁵ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 570.

^{236a} Howitt—*Ibid.*, p. 570.

²³⁶ Mathews—"The Keeparra Ceremony of Initiation"—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi, 1897, p. 323.

²³⁷ Enright—"The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of Port Stephens, N.S. Wales."—*Journ. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xxxiii, 1900, pp. 115, 116, 123.

²³⁸ Howitt—"Native Tribes S.E. Australia," 1904, p. 572.

²³⁹ Fawcett—"Notes on the Customs and Dialect of the Wonnah-Ruah Tribe"—*Science of Man*, i, No. 7, 1898, p. 152.

This may be regarded as little more than a bibliographical reference. The "area of upwards of 2,000 square miles" is much too loose a description to be of any value, and will probably embrace Fraser's Gloucester and Enright's Port Stephens localities, and to some extent Mathews' Darkinung tribes, about to follow.

94. *Coastal District, Newcastle to "about Sydney"*.—The tribes speaking Darkinung, according to Mr. Mathews,²⁴⁰ occupied territory in the counties of Northumberland, Hunter, Cook, and Cumberland. There were the usual two circles joined by a path. "Scattered here and there around the circle [which?] and amongst the images and designs on the ground were a number of marked trees, on the bark of which were carved representations of the emu, the wombat, the opossum, the kangaroo, the 'iguana,' the 'squirrel,' a snake crawling up, and other figures. On a log, which was lying on the ground near by was cut the figure of a turtle. . . . One of the trees had a narrow strip of bark cut off along its bole in a wavy line, extending from about twenty-five feet high to the ground, to represent a tree struck by lightning."

To be more precise, this Darkinung dialect "was spoken by the tribes occupying the country on the southern side of the Hunter River, from Jerry's Plains downward towards Maitland, extending southerly to Wollombi Brook, Pretty Creek, and including the Macdonald, Colo, and Hawkesbury Rivers."

The older writers do not appear to have known anything of these Darkinung-speaking people; at least I have failed to find any previous reference to them. Collins does not refer to glyphed trees in his account of the Sydney ceremony of *Yoolahng*, witnessed by him at the head of Farm Cove, and performed by the powerful Cammerra-gal, or people living between the Hawkesbury River Estuary and the north shore of Port Jackson.²⁴¹ The same remark applies to the Hon. George Thornton's account.²⁴² Indeed, I am not aware that a carved tree has ever been found nearer to Sydney than Mr. Mathews' locality, the Colo River, a branch of the Hawkesbury, beyond Wiseman's Ferry.

²⁴⁰ Mathews—"The Burbing of the Darkinung Tribes"—*Proc. R. Soc. Viet.*, x (n.s.), 1897, p. 1.

²⁴¹ Collins—"An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales," &c., 2nd edit., 1804, p. 273.

²⁴² Thornton—"Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales"—*World's Columbian Expos.*, Chicago, 1893—Sydney, 1892, p. 8.

The only other writer to mention this Darkinung dialect is Mr. W. J. Enright, who, spelling the name "Darknung," said:—"The land extending from Bulga, near Singleton, down the watershed of the Macdonald River, and up the watershed of the Nepean, to a point in about the same latitude as Campbelltown, was occupied by the Darknung."²⁴³

95. *Ulladulla, four miles west-north-west of*, on Portion 114, Pa. Ulladulla.—Mr. R. H. Cambage, Under Secretary for Mines, informs me that a tree marking a Bora ground, and prepared in the fifties, stood on Portion 114, Parish Ulladulla, County St. Vincent, for many years. It was incised by rings above one another, and a spiral cut extending some ten feet up the tree. The incisions were about four inches broad.

This locality would have fallen within the territory of the Yuin or Coast Murring.

B.—VICTORIA.

I have no record of the occurrence of a teleteglyph in Victoria.

C.—SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The same remark applies to this State.

D.—QUEENSLAND.

96. *Redbank Creek, Tallwood holding, Weir River*, a branch of the Barwon River, in Queensland. One of the most important of the northern localities, proving that the teleteglyph cult extended into Queensland, even perhaps, if introduced by more southern blacks. This Bora²⁴⁴ is said to have been attended by men of the Goondiwindi and St. George tribes, on the Queensland side, and by those from Mogil, Gundabloui, and Mungundi, in New South Wales.

The marked trees were scattered along the track from the smaller circle for a distance of about one hundred and seventy-five yards. The designs, simply marked with a tomahawk, are said to have been of the *yammun-yamun* type, somewhat similar in character to those cut upon the ground. Some of the trees were close to the path, others eight to ten feet back on either side, and three were situated outside the embankment of the

small circle. On a tree between the small circle and "Baiaimai's fire" the crescent figure of the "moon" was cut through the bark, and a short distance below it were four zig-zag lines." On another bole was a wavy band about two inches wide and extending upwards for about twenty-five feet intended, according to Mr. Mathews, to represent the track of a lightning flash; this was cut through the bark. Produced in a similar manner was a carpet snake head downwards, nine feet four inches long, and a lace-lizard, five feet two inches in length. Chopped through the bark into the wood was a centipede with eighteen legs, three feet one inch long, and there also appears to have been the representation of a porcupine ant-eater.²⁴⁵

There is a strong similarity between the effigies at this locality and those at Bulgeraga Creek. Is this the same Bora as that described by Mr. Donald Gunn as the "last 'Bora'" held by the blacks of the Weir and Barwon country? It took place at Tallwood in 1893. There is a discrepancy in date, Mr. Mathews placing the occurrence in 1895. It is hardly conceivable that two Boras were held at one and the same place within two years of one another. Mr. Mathews did not see the ceremony, Mr. Gunn did in part, and refers to the carving of the trees "into all manner of patterns."²⁴⁶

97. *Chepara Tribe*.—Between the Tweed River and Moreton Bay. The Bora ceremony is not only the occasion of a gathering of "the Chepara clans, but of outlying tribes, as, for instance, those of the Richmond River, across the border of New South Wales."²⁴⁷

"A space of nearly a mile in circumference is prepared by stripping the bark from the trees, and marking them."²⁴⁸

9. REMARKS ON THE DISTRIBUTION.

The distribution of teleteglyph culture coincides, on the whole, with that of taphoglyphs, but where the one passes without the domain of the other, if at all, is not very clear. The custom as appertaining to initiation ceremonies was prevalent within Wiradjuri-Kamilaroi boundaries, apparently filtering through to contiguous districts more or less open to the influence of

²⁴³ Enright.—*Science of Man*, iv, No. 4, 1891, p. 80.

²⁴⁴ Mathews.—"The Bora of the Kamilaroi Tribes"—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, ix (n.s.), 1897, p. 137.

²⁴⁵ Mathews—"The Bora, the Kamilaroi Tribes."—*Proc. R. Soc. Vict.*, ix (n.s.), 1897, p. 148.

²⁴⁶ Gunn—"The last Bora on the Weir River"—*Q'land. Geogr. Journ.*, xxiv, 1908-9, pp. 88-91.

²⁴⁷ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 579. ²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 579-80.

those nations. A case in point is that related by Lieut. Breton, and quoted by Howitt,²⁴⁹ of the meeting of the Kamilaroi at the Port Macquarie *kabbarah* with either the Gringai (Williams River) or Geawe-gal (Hunter River and Port Stephens), the Port Macquarie people forming a part of the same great group as the two tribes just mentioned.

To the north-west I have no record beyond that of the Euahlayi Tribe on the Narran River (No. 73).

The most southerly records of teleteglyphs are the decayed site at Darlington Point (No. 65) on the Murrumbidgee River in a south-westerly direction, and Ulladulla on the south-east (No. 95); northward of these localities Bora sites have been recorded at intervals to the Queensland border (No. 77).

Just as with taphoglyphs, the stronghold of teleteglyphs was throughout the territory of the Wiradjuri-Kamilaroi (inclusive of the Wollaroi and Gaiamba) nations. A slight racial confusion might be suspected on the part of the reader by Mr. Mathews' inclusion of Wiradjuri methods of conducting their ceremony within Kamilaroi territory (see Nos. 71, 72, 77), but a remark of Dr. A. W. Howitt's probably explains this, viz., that north of the Gwydir River up to the New South Wales-Queensland border, and on the Darling from Walgett to Bourke, Kamilaroi and Wollaroi mixed,²⁵⁰ and on the Castlereagh River, Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri.²⁵¹

If a glance be taken at Howitt's map of New South Wales tribal distribution in conjunction with that illustrating the class system areas throughout Eastern Australia,²⁵² it will be at once apparent that nearly half of our quoted sites, certainly between Nos. 65-77, are within the area ascribed by Howitt to the four matriarchal sub-class organization, an area extending even to the north of Rockhampton. That is to say,—where the Wiradjuri-Kamilaroi conjoint boundaries on the one hand, meet with that of the Wonghibon on the other, this particular line is practically also the western boundary of teleteglyphs, and with one exception, of that of taphoglyphs also.

North of the Kamilaroi, and passing into Queensland are other tribes having the same social organization and class names, such as the Bigambul of the Gwydir River and Darling Downs, the Ungorri about St. George, and

²⁴⁹ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S.E. Austr.," 1904, pp. 576-7.

²⁵⁰ By Fraser the Wollaroi are regarded as a section of the Kamilaroi.

²⁵¹ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S.E. Austr.," 1904, p. 57.

²⁵² Howitt—*Ibid.*, to face pp. 50 and 90.

Charleville,²⁵³ but not the Chepara, who "had no class divisions."²⁵⁴ The Bora held at Redbank Creek (No. 96), a branch of the Weir River, was an assemblage of the Goondiwindi and St. George men on the Queensland side, no doubt of the Bigambul, and this locality is, with the exception of the Chepara tribe, the most northerly ceremonial site of which I have a circumstantial record. Another similar meeting was that at Gundablui (No. 77) on the New South Wales side of the border, attended by the same people as those who assembled at Redbank, in conjunction with the New South Welsh Kamilaroi (Fraser) or Wollaroi (Howitt) from around Collarendabri, Mogil Mogil, and Walgett. I think, therefore, it may be safely assumed, that wherever tribes with the similar Kamilaroi-Wollaroi-Wiradjuri social organization²⁵⁵ roamed there will teleteglyphs be found.

It is impossible to speak with any certainty of the ethnical relations of the people comprised within Nos. 78-87. On Howitt's map the country comprised within these numbers is, to all intents and purposes, devoid of tribal names. There was, however, a map published subsequent to the appearance of Dr. Howitt's work, which gave a most copious list of tribal names, extending from Walcha on the south to Darling Downs on the north, by Mr. John Macpherson, M.A., M.B.²⁵⁶ This may assist the reader to some extent in locating the sites recorded between the numbers in question.

²⁵³ Howitt—"Native Tribes of S. E. Austr.," 1904, pp. 58 and 109.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁵⁶ Macpherson—*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xxix, pt. 4, 1905, pl. xxi. Another map may also be consulted, one by Mr. R. H. Mathews—*Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, xxxvii, No. 157, Pl. V.